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One Hundred Fifty Years of Loyalty: The Turner Movement in the United States

The year 1998 not only commemorated the one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the German Revolution of 1848, it also marked the sesquicentennial of the first American Turner societies.¹ The 1848-49 Revolution in Germany brought a few thousand political refugees to the United States and is closely connected with the rise of the Turner movement on the American continent. In the years before the revolution, the *Vormärz*, the German Turner societies² had many politically engaged members—among them political leaders—who were later involved in the revolutionary disturbances. Some of the Turners who left Germany and emigrated to the United States founded Turner societies soon after their arrival. During their first decades these *Turnvereine* offered physical education classes for their members, and functioned as vehicles for German immigrants to continue their cultural endeavours in North America, and pretended to spread traditional German customs, language and celebrations and “German nationalism in the American culture.”³

The American Turner societies and their union, since 1938 called American Turners, have had quite a turbulent history. During the early decades of their existence their social and political aims reflected those of the Turners who had emigrated during the German Revolution of 1848-49.⁴ According to the “Convention Protocol of the Socialistic Turnerbund” from 1859-60, the Turner movement was to be a “planting school for all revolutionary ideas which have their origin in a natural and rational world conception.” The Turners promoted a socialism that concentrated on the rights and freedom of the individual,⁵ and opposed monarchy and religious indoctrination of the people. In terms of the sociopolitical circumstances in the United States, this meant, that they fought American nativism, the system of slavery as well as the temperance and Sabbath-day laws.⁶ These attitudes also reflected the opinions of the freethinkers, an antireligious movement that advocated rationalism, science and history and

considered itself within the tradition of Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine. Many Forty-Eighters and Turners found their political homes in these groups. The Turners' socialistic political orientation was also reflected in the names of some of the first American *Turnvereine* founded in the late 1840s and early 1850s which added the attribute "social" to their names, and to their first union the "Socialist Turnerbund of North America," which was founded in 1850.⁷

Like other ethnic groups that had immigrated to the United States the Germans had to fight the hostility from native-born Americans who did not approve of the high rate of immigration into their country. Despite these difficulties, the Turners tried to express their political opinion not only among their own ethnic group, but tried to reach out to the American public. Most of the Turners supported the political goals of the Republicans during the 1850s and 1860s. This support resulted in the establishment of Lincoln's Turner body guard during his first inauguration, as well as the forming of "Turner regiments" at the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. Before the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 over 130 Turner societies could be counted in the United States. Not all of them belonged to the *Turnerbund*. The peak of the American Turner movement was reached in 1894. At that time 317 societies existed with approximately 40,000 members.⁸ In the "Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States," Pumroy and Rampelmann state that there have been over 700 Turner societies in existence in the United States.⁹

This article will first review the German Turner movement until the outbreak of the German Revolution, then provide an insight into the associational life of the *Turnvereine* in the United States, and summarize how the immigrated Turners and their societies reacted to the political situation in the United States before and during the Civil War. It will finally outline the further development of the Turners to the present-day showing not only a decline in membership but also changes in many areas, such as the Turner's political engagement, their ethnic relations and membership structure as well as the programs offered in the societies.

The results presented are mainly based on anniversary publications, protocols of Turner societies and the Turner union as well as the yearbooks of the American Turner movement written by Heinrich Metzner in the 1890s. The latter tends to reflect a favorable and heroic image of the Turners as older publications on the Germans in the United States often do. The research of sport historian Robert K. Barney and other secondary literature add more valuable information to this study.¹⁰ The figures that show the present condition of the still existing *Turnvereine* are drawn from two questionnaires: one for the management of the societies to get an insight into their societies' structures and how the *Vereinswelt* looks today; the other for members to gain some personal information on their ethnic background and relation to German culture and traditions.

The Beginnings of the Turner Movement in Germany and Its Transfer to the United States

In the first half of the nineteenth century *Turnen* formed part of a national movement which encouraged self expression, independence and freedom for every German citizen. This movement stood for constitutional government and basic human liberty as well as for the union of the German states.¹¹ Most important was its systematic program of gymnastics and exercises based on Friedrich Ludwig Jahn's (1778-1852) work. In 1811 Jahn built the first *Turnplatz* on the Hasenheide in Berlin. One of the *Turnwater's* main interests was to strengthen the bodies of young men for the battles against the French military. Due to the radical political life of some Turners who were members of students' corps—*die Burschenschaften*—*Turnen* soon became a target for political repression. From 1819-20 Prussia and other German states ordered a ban of *Turnen*. After the lifting of this *Turnsperre* in 1842 the Turner movement was able to spread all over Germany. Especially during the *Vormärz* many societies—predominantly in the southern German states—were founded.¹² The Turner societies considered themselves educational institutions and developed their own culture with certain rituals, symbols and a *Gemeinschaftsleben* (community life). Besides physical education they focused their interest on political affairs. Their ultimate goal was to spread the movement all over Germany to promote through the culture of *Turnen* a sense of national community and develop a "*Wir-Gefühl*" among the Germans.¹³

Until the outbreak of the German Revolution in 1848 the German Turner movement developed into the largest national organization, although their efforts to found a Turner union in 1848 failed. By that time the Turner movement had split into a national-liberal group and a radical-democratic one. Especially the societies of the southwestern states such as Baden, Hessen and Württemberg showed strong liberal and radical tendencies. Many Turners of this area engaged in the German revolution.¹⁴ The two leaders of the revolution in Baden, Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve were members of the *Mannheim Turngemeinde*, a *Turnverein* known for its radical political opinions. Karl Blind, another Turner from Mannheim emphasized in January of 1848: "our purpose is the revolution . . . each Turner is a revolutionary," he added "even dagger, blood and poison should not be spared in the decisive moment."¹⁵ Not all Turners shared this opinion, but many of them defended the ideals of the revolution "freedom, education and prosperity for the people." Besides the Turners from Mannheim, the *Hanauer Turnerwehr*, led by their *Turnwart* August Schärttner and the *Heilbronn Turngemeinde* are well-known for their engagement in the revolution.

After the failure of the revolution many Turners had to leave their home country.¹⁶ They belonged to the group of political refugees, the Forty-Eighters. In his description of these refugees Barney emphasizes not only the fact that they were "classically educated, politically enlightened and motivated, not without some economic means," but also that these men were in "excellent

physical condition through training in gymnastics," which suggests that they were Turners.¹⁷ In the United States these men of "distincted type"¹⁸ were able to present their political opinions without the danger of persecution they had to suffer in the German states. These political refugees founded the first Turner societies in the United States. The oldest still existing is the *Cincinnati Central Turners* which was founded in November 1848 on the suggestion of Friedrich Hecker.¹⁹

Vereinsleben: Physical and Mental Turnen

The American Turner societies developed in the German tradition of "Bildungsvereine," which committed themselves to the humanistic belief in progress and a cultivated life.²⁰ Hecker described the German-American Turner movement during a speech given at a local *Turnfest* in 1882 as "the true tree of a useful life and aspiration which has two branches, a mental one and a physical one."²¹ The harmonic education—that includes physical and mental training—Hecker referred to is also expressed in the constitution of the *Cincinnati Turngemeinde* in 1848 that proclaimed: "The purpose of the Turner society is the training and education of right-thinking men in mind and body." The Cincinnati Turners also referred to cultural endeavors and added "preserving and extending the German element in every respect."²²

Life in the German-American Turner societies was very similar to that in Germany. The *Turnvereine* had their own, or rented, gymnasiums—*Turnballen*—or grounds to perform their exercises. The physical activities included apparatus gymnastics, free exercises, wrestling, climbing, swimming and different athletic disciplines such as running and jumping events.²³ The physical programs also included children. Starting in the 1850s in the "Zöglingschulen" *Turnen* was offered to children of both sexes.²⁴ In the 1850s when the German-American population suffered from anti-foreign or nativistic campaigns from the American population, the *Turnerbund* introduced military tactics and exercises such as shooting and fencing.²⁵

Besides the physical programs and the "deutsche Gemütlichkeit" that the *Vereinsleben* offered through social get-togethers in the bars or restaurants, the "Rathskeller," many Turner societies had English classes for adults and children alike, some societies taught the basics in mathematics, history, geography and bookkeeping among other subjects.²⁶ Other *Turnvereine* had special classes for children teaching them German and introducing them to the German culture. This so-called "mental" *Turnen* also consisted of cultural programs such as theater plays, concerts, lectures or discussions.²⁷ Another important part of the social *Vereinsleben* was the German song. For the nineteenth-century Turner historian Heinrich Metzner the German song is "inseparable from *Turnen*."²⁸ The cultural value the German song had, is described by the German sport historian German Michael Krüger as a "social- and integrative function" in the process of developing a "Wir-Gefühl"—a solidarity—among the Turners.²⁹ Thus many Turner societies

had a singing section. The singing section of the *Socialistischer Turnverein New York* had its own statutes. In paragraph nine it reads that singers do not have to participate in the physical exercises which were obligatory for all members.³⁰

Another means to educate the Turners and their families was through literature. In 1858 the *Turnerbund* urged all societies which belonged to the national body to establish libraries.³¹ The establishment of these libraries depended on different factors such as the interaction with the German-speaking community, and the availability of German-language reading materials. During the early years these libraries functioned as public libraries for the German-American community. Among the German "Classics" by such authors as Schiller, Goethe, and Humboldt one could find more radical German-American authors such as the journalists Karl Heinzen and Wilhelm Rothacker. But not only works of German authors could be discovered in these library collections. English writers like Sir Walter Scott, William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens or the American authors James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving or Harriet Beecher Stowe were also popular.³²

The Turners' Reactions to the Political Conditions in the United States and Their Involvement in the Civil War

During the 1850s the Turners became targets of the nativist movement. Their radical political opinions, their white gymnastic dress and the exercises which partly included military drills and the use of weapons were considered dangerous by anti-immigrant forces within the native American population, such as the members of the "Know-Nothing movement" who defended their dictum "America for Americans."³³ Germans and Turners were often attacked during day trips or *Turnfeste*, as in 1851 in New York and 1854 in Philadelpia. In the Midwest—especially Cincinnati, Columbus, Louisville and Covington—in 1855 and 1856 war-like conditions existed. For the Turners' defense and security the *Socialistischer Turnerbund* recommended the use of weapons and military tactics. Exercises such as shooting and fencing were offered by the societies as part of the exercise classes as early as 1851.³⁴

The controversy over slavery and the outbreak of the American Civil War brought some of the German Forty-Eighters back into the political arena. Many of them sided with the movement to emancipate the slaves, reflecting the constitution of the *Socialistic Turnerbund of North America* which opposed the institution of slavery. There were also individual Turners and *Turnvereine* who defended the abolitionist principles of the *Turnerbund*.³⁵ For example Boston's Turners collectively had quite a few opportunities to defend human rights. Their first opportunity came in December 1860 when abolitionist Wendell Phillips³⁶ was giving a speech in Boston's Music Hall. Phillips's enemies were present and threatened his life. To protect him on his way home members of the *Turnverein* formed a body guard. One month later the same *Turnverein* was challenged again during a meeting of abolitionists in Boston. This time the Turners showed

up with guns and bayonets and thus made sure that the meeting was a peaceful one.³⁷ But this appeal for humanity was not supported by all Turner societies. As a result some of the Southern *Turnvereine* left the national union.³⁸

The Turners' Loyalty to the Republican Government

During the presidential election in 1860 most Turners supported the Republican Party thus showing the American public that on the one hand they did not approve of the existing undemocratic conditions and behavior, and, on the other hand that they were concerned about civil rights. The Republican campaign was supported by many German immigrants, namely by Turner pioneer Franz Lieber, Friedrich Hecker, future Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz and Wilhelm Pfänder.³⁹ The leaders of the *Turnerbund* made a special appeal to its societies to vote for the Republican presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln in the upcoming elections.⁴⁰ This loyalty of the Turners to the new government was evidenced at Lincoln's first inauguration on 4 March 1861. During the ceremony Turners from Washington and Baltimore were part of the president's body-guard of honor.⁴¹

Before Lincoln's inauguration some of the Southern states had seceded from the Union and formed a Confederacy under Jefferson Davis. When negotiations between both governments were unsuccessful, Jefferson Davis bombarded Fort Sumter into submission. A company of *Turnerschützen* who fought for the Union's cause was involved in this incident, but they were able to escape the siege.⁴² On 13 April 1861 the Fort surrendered and was turned over to the Confederacy. Lincoln immediately called for 75,000 volunteers to reestablish law and order and to suppress the hostile tendencies threatening the Union.⁴³

The enthusiastic rush of recruitment that Lincoln's call to arms brought across the Northern states was also found among the Turners, who were in some cities among the first to respond.⁴⁴ Some 106 different military units are known in which Turners fought. Approximately 70 percent of the Turner membership or 6,000-8,000 Turners fought for the Union. These soldiers were prepared for the military conflict between the North and the South by their regular gymnastics, military drills and weapons training,⁴⁵ which they had started during the anti-foreigner campaigns.⁴⁶ In the 1858 statutes of the Western Turner Union⁴⁷ it was recommended that all Turner societies should receive military training and should be supplied with pistols. Quite a few Turners also came with military experience from Germany. Some of them had been officers such as the Forty-Eighters Franz Sigel and Friedrich Hecker. These men were able to use their leadership skills to organize Turner regiments.⁴⁸

Turner Societies and Their Recruitment

The best known Turner regiments were the 20th Regiment, New York Volunteers, the 9th Regiment, Ohio Volunteers, and the 17th Regiment, Missouri

Volunteers. The following examples are mainly taken from "Vereins-Festschriften." Besides a short sketch of their involvement examples are given which show that a number of Turner societies supported President Lincoln's politics through the organization of military units. New York recorded many volunteers among the Turners from all corners of the state. There were 265 from New York City, 95 from Williamsburg, 75 from Buffalo, 50 from Brooklyn, 22 from Albany, and 12 from Syracuse; other Turners came from the neighboring state of New Jersey: 65 from Newark, 45 from Bloomingdale, and 15 from Jersey City. They formed the 20th Regiment of New York State which was also called "New York Turnerschützenregiment" or "Turner Rifles."⁴⁹ A few days after Lincoln's call to arms the Turner societies of New York state organized a regiment at the suggestion of the *New Yorker Verein*. The former freedom-fighter Max Weber from Baden was the officer in charge of these 1,200 men. On 13 June 1861, the Turner Rifles moved to the front at Fortress Monroe, Virginia.⁵⁰ They remained there almost one year and were involved in some battles before they were united in the summer of 1862 with the 6th and 7th Corps of the Army of the Potomac.⁵¹

Among other skirmishes, these Turners took part in the siege of Richmond, Virginia, the capital of the Confederacy. These Turners carried the black-red-gold flag of the 1848 Revolution with them: "Out of the black night of slavery through bloody strife to the golden dawn of freedom," as the German *Turnwater* Friedrich Ludwig Jahn described the meaning these colors.⁵² They were also involved during their deployment in the North of Maryland at the battle of Antietam on 17 September 1862.

Three months later the Turner Rifles fought from 11 to 15 December at Fredericksburg, Virginia, and on 3 May 1863 at Salem Heights. After this last battle the two-year tour of duty for the regiment was over. It ended with an honorable discharge. The arrival in New York, however, was rather sad. Some 131 Turners had lost their lives. Another 174 were reported missing and 201 men of the Turner Rifles had been wounded.⁵³

Similar to their *Turnbrüder* in New York, the Turners of Cincinnati went voluntarily to war. They fought together with some of Kentucky's Turners in the 9th Ohio Volunteer Regiment, a German regiment⁵⁴ consisting of 1,135 men.⁵⁵ Because the first three companies largely consisted of Turners, this military unit was called the "Ohio Turner Regiment." More than half of the Cincinnati *Turngemeinde's* members enlisted. Other Turners came from nearby cities such as Covington, Kentucky, Newport and Hamilton.⁵⁶ On 21 April 1861 the regiment was unofficially sworn into the service of the United States on their *Turnplatz*, and on 27 April it was signed up for three years. Two months later Cincinnati's Turners were in the middle of the war.⁵⁷ One of the regiment's most important deployments was on the 19 January 1862 at the battle of Mill Springs, Kentucky. This fight delivered most of Kentucky into Union hands.⁵⁸ The 9th Ohio was also involved in the battle at Chickamauga on the border between Georgia and Tennessee from 18 to 21 September 1863. Only half of the

regiment survived.⁵⁹

Because of external circumstances it was difficult for the St. Louis Turners to support the Union army. Shortly before the outbreak of the war, the slave state Missouri was experiencing its own crisis. There were supporters of both, the Union and the Confederacy, living in this state.⁶⁰ This political instability resulted in clashes within the population. Because of internal unrest some of Missouri's German population decided to form defense forces. A group of volunteers founded the *Schwarzes Jägerkorps*. The Turners of St. Louis decided very early to side with the North.⁶¹ Three months before the outbreak of the war they dissolved their *Turnverein* and instead founded a military unit to protect the Union and freedom. After Lincoln's call the already existing Turner companies united with the Germans of the region to fight for the North. These companies were first enlisted in the 1st Missouri Volunteer Regiment. After three months they were reorganized with the 17th Missouri Regiment which consisted of other members from Turner societies of the Southwest. This regiment became known as the "Westliches Turnerregiment." Metzner writes that these soldiers played a decisive role in the defense of the Federal arsenal in St. Louis and were important for the rescue of the city and the struggle against the secessionistic element in Missouri.⁶²

Supporters of the Union living in Kentucky faced similar difficulties. In Louisville, the gateway to the South, the Turners were not very popular after Lincoln's election. In this city the Republicans only received a very small percentage of the votes. The vote for Lincoln was to some degree due to certain Forty-Eighters and Turners of Louisville. An anonymous letter to the city's *Turnverein* requested that the Turners leave the town or they would have to suffer the consequences. The Germans ignored this message and trained publicly for their entry into the Union forces. When they entered the war, they took along their *Turnverein's* flag with its dictum "Through Training to Strength, Through Battle to Light."⁶³

In Philadelphia 86 of the 260 members of the Philadelphia *Turnverein* immediately enlisted. In an effort to "sell" the war efforts, the society offered recruits who joined the army a free membership. After a few weeks the society had 400 soldiers holding military exercises in their gymnasium. The Turner society provided food for the men. Because of a disagreement with the governor a group of Pennsylvanian Turners went to New York to join the 29th or Astor Regiment. Another company joined the 17th Missouri Regiment in St. Louis.⁶⁴

Less is known about the involvement of other Turner societies in the Civil War. But examples can be found in different *Festschriften* and Metzner's accounts. For example, Milwaukee's Turners provided 101 volunteers for different Wisconsin regiments. Company C of the 5th Wisconsin Regiment fought together with their New York "friends" called the Turner Rifles.⁶⁵ The Turners of Chicago were also active. Two days after Lincoln's call 105 Turners formed the "Turner Union Cadets."⁶⁶ In Baltimore all Turners registered for the army under the influence of their leading Forty-Eighters. The *Turnverein* of that city already

had to suffer from attacks of the mob because they had the union's flag hanging outside their building.⁶⁷ In Indianapolis all unmarried Turners of the Indianapolis *Turnverein* enlisted in the army. Because of the lack of members, the Turner society had to be disbanded for the duration of the war.⁶⁸ The Turner society of Kansas City not only sent its men to war, but also supported the cause financially, by investing all its savings of \$800 in weapons for the Union. Additionally the Turner's wives made silken flags to show both the fighting and Turner spirit of their husbands.⁶⁹

Turners on the Side of the Confederacy

Not all Germans and Turners supported Lincoln's policies. Some supported the Confederate government. Möll supposes that approximately 35,000 Germans fought for the south.⁷⁰ In the South a measure was passed in August 1861 by their new government that stated all male individuals, fourteen years of age or older had to take the "Oath of Loyalty" or leave the South.⁷¹ The Germans were not able to carry out a "policy of non-involvement," as Barney calls it. Their "socio-politico-economic" situation, became more and more difficult. For many Germans their personal, family related and economic security was more important than the abolitionist principles of the *Turnerbund*. As a result, Turners entered the service of the Confederacy and defended their new home and country in the war.⁷²

Apart from the work conducted by Barney and Wamsley, research into the number of Turners that fought for the Confederacy is an area that has been sadly neglected by historians. But it is known that Turner companies were formed in the states Texas, Louisiana, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia, also including some Forty-Eighters.⁷³

New Orleans, Louisiana, had the largest German population in the South and two Turner societies existed in this city. Its *Turngemeinde* formed an eighty-man company one month before the incident at Fort Sumter.⁷⁴ Special military exercises had prepared them for their entry in the war and the defense of the Conderacy. Before this company was organized, the *Turnverein* had a military unit called the "Homeguard." The members of the city's second Turner society *Turnverein Vorwärts*, were loyal to the Union. This *Verein* dissolved in January 1861. Some 22 members fought in the underground for the North and half of those men lost their lives, while the other half had to flee to the North.⁷⁵

In neighboring Texas the Turners from Galveston and Houston were also unwilling to adopt the political principles of the *Turnerbund* which did not serve the interest of the Turners as citizens of Texas. A unit of the Galveston and the Houston *Turnverein* enlisted after the Confederacy's call for volunteers. According to Wamsley "the Houston Turners became the first Texas entity in the War to come under fire on Texas soil."⁷⁶

These examples illustrate that quite a few Turners showed their loyalty to the South and defended their new home land as did the Northerners. But it

should not be forgotten that there were fewer Germans who had settled in the Southern parts of the United States than in the North. As a result, there existed fewer Turner societies. This fact might account for the low incidence of Turner military units in the South.

Turner Affairs during the War Years

The outbreak of the Civil War was a setback for the American Turner movement. The executive board of the national *Turnerbund* which was located close to the theater of war in Baltimore urged its societies in vain to fulfill their commitments. Most of the Turners had enlisted in the army and had to face different problems. In many Turner societies the atmosphere was influenced by sorrow over the deaths among their ranks and activities in most clubs declined. Some *Turnvereine* had to be closed down because there were not enough members left. However, there were examples where gymnastic and social gatherings were held, despite the fact that only a few members were left.⁷⁷ One of them was the *Louisville Turngemeinde*, which had changed its gymnasium into a military hospital and was forced to rent a different building to carry out its athletic activities.⁷⁸ Similar circumstances occurred in Syracuse, New York, where the Turners also tried to go on with their activities. They even purchased a larger gymnasium in 1863.⁷⁹ The *Turnvereine* in Kansas City, Covington, and Chicago followed this example.⁸⁰ It was not until 1864, when most of the Turners had returned from the war, that once again, cooperative activities among the societies became possible. The Turner union was reorganized in 1865, now called *Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund* or *North American Gymnastic Union*—a name without a political connotation. A renewed enthusiasm for the gymnastic movement spread among the German communities in the United States.

Postbellum Years

The fact that already before the end of the Civil War new gymnasiums had been built, *Turnfeste* were celebrated, and the *Turnerbund* was reorganized, shows that the German population stayed faithful to its German traditions, even though they had now taken steps—by fighting for the goals of their newly chosen home country throughout the war—toward Americanization.⁸¹ For Alice J. Moonen the Civil War period was a stage in which the transformation from German immigrants to German-Americans had taken place.⁸²

After the Civil War an era of reconstruction started not only for the American South but also for the Turner movement. The Turners tried to work toward a new era and revitalize the German-American gymnastic movement which set itself new goals.⁸³ During these years the number of German immigrants increased and Turners could take advantage of this reservoir. In many American cities new Turner societies were founded, others enlarged their membership. It was the beginning of a boom which lasted until the turn of the century. In these

postbellum years the *Turnerbund* concentrated on educational goals such as the introduction of their physical training programs into public schools; in 1866 they opened a *Turnlehrerseminar* which later became the *Normal School of the American Gymnastic Union*,⁸⁴ and some societies were active in the industrial labor movement of the 1870s and 1880s.⁸⁵

Another important task the union had to face after the war was the opening of their societies to women. During the Victorian period it was not proper for women to exercise. Especially physicians and educators saw a danger for future childbirth.⁸⁶ However, *Turnen* for women was introduced in the 1880s and became very popular. For the first time in 1909 the number of active female Turners was higher than the one of their male counterpart. Starting in the 1860s many societies also established "Women's Auxiliaries" over the next decades. These auxiliaries supported the Turners financially, helped organize social events, and worked "for the good of the Turner Clubs."⁸⁷ The boom that the Turner movement registered with over 40,000 members, more than 25,000 children and around 3,000 women participating in the activity classes in the early 1890s had ceased by the time of World War I.⁸⁸ The radical and social revolutionary tendencies in the Turner movement had also declined. This was certainly due to the change in generations; most of the Forty-Eighters and pioneers for social reforms were dead. The Turners focused their engagement in social reforms on their local areas.

With the entry of the United States into the First World War, a very difficult era for German-Americans began and with it for the *Turnbewegung*. In 1917 the *Turnerbund* emphasized that the home of each American Turner was the United States and they should follow their duties as American citizens. It was also emphasized that not the people but the governments were involved in this war. After the war the leaders of the American Gymnastic Union appealed to its members of German descent to do everything in their power to work against the feelings of hatred which the war had evoked and to reconcile all races in this country.⁸⁹ This shows the Turners' willingness to contribute to the building of the American nation. The statistical reports of the Turner Union show that the number of societies and membership remained constant in the years of World War I. The Union had around 200 societies with approximately 38,000 members. The decline started after the war in 1918 and did not stop until 1943, when less than 100 societies with only 16,000 Turners belonged to the American Turners.⁹⁰

The Americanization and assimilation process of the Turner movement accelerated after the First World War. This is illustrated by a loss of German as the official language in protocols, statements of principle and in the *Amerikanische Turnzeitung*. By and by the societies took over English and also Americanized their names which always included "Turners," but dropped the German *Turngemeinde* or *Turnverein*. The "Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund" kept its name until 1938, and then changed it to "American Turners." Two years earlier the *American Turner Topics* had replaced the *Amerikanische Turnzeitung* as official organ of the Turners and Turner president George Seibel officially declared that

the American Turner movement "has been the most American of all American associations," the new slogan of the Turners became "Turnerism is Americanism."⁹¹

During World War II a completely Americanized Turner movement showed its loyalty to the government. Again the Turners showed their loyalty as soldiers in the fight against Hitler's army. They were thankful that the "Government of the U.S. did nothing to hinder or hurt the Turner Movement in America."⁹²

The number of societies did not rise after the war, but the membership numbers climbed to 25,000 again in the 1950s. One cause for this rise certainly was the new immigration wave which brought more than 500,000 German immigrants to the United States between 1950 and 1959.⁹³ During this time the Turners denied the socialistic principles they once defended while they were still under the influence of the Forty-Eighters. The president of the American Turners, Carl Weideman, emphasized in 1952 "I hate communism" and the Turners are "100% Americans and we stand for Americanism all down the line."⁹⁴

The American Turners Today

In 1999 fifty-nine Turner societies belonged to the American Turners. The membership was approximately 13,000.⁹⁵ To get a picture of the present condition and the assimilation process of the formerly German Turner societies, two questionnaires were distributed in 1997-98. Thirty-seven societies responded to the first questionnaire and gave information on their physical and social programs, membership numbers, age structure of the members, gender distribution, and the societies' relationship to German culture and tradition. The second questionnaire was returned by 160 individual Turners from fifteen societies and mainly gives insight into the ethnic background of the members as well as the reasons for joining a Turner society.

This survey of the current American Turner movement shows that two-thirds of the members are older than thirty years of age.⁹⁶ Seventy percent of the societies have more male members than female members—four societies had no females at all. Sixty-three percent of the individual Turners included in this study confirmed having German ancestry, the rest had their roots in different, mostly European countries.⁹⁷ Of the members with a German background 44 percent claimed to have at least some knowledge of the German language. Most of the Turners knew that their societies were founded by German immigrants, but some had difficulties interpreting the term "Turnen" which is part of most societies' names. Some even thought the Turners belonged to TV-magnate Ted Turner.

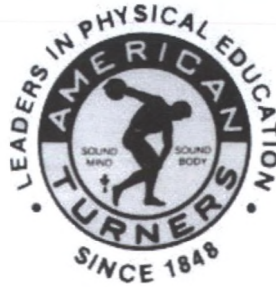
Among the reasons for joining a Turner society 54 percent of the Turners mentioned the social programs, 43 percent listed meeting friends and 29 percent said they joined for German culture and tradition. For 21 percent the sport offerings were of particular importance. The study also showed that almost two-thirds of the members had belonged to their society for more than ten

years, which exhibits a certain loyalty and also satisfaction with the society's offerings.

The American Turners still use their motto "sound mind in a sound body," although the *Vereinsleben* does not show this connection between mental and physical education anymore. The offerings in the athletic and social areas look different today, than in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The sport of "Turnen" or gymnastics still exists in many societies, but mainly for children and youth. Adults prefer other athletic programs that the Turner societies present. The most popular activities are volleyball, bowling, basketball, softball and golf. Three Turner societies answered that they did not offer any sport activities, five societies offered at least two sports, and twenty-three societies have more than three different sports for their members. The social *Vereinsleben* is determined by American holiday celebrations, although many Turner societies still try to show their loyalty to German culture by featuring German festivals such as *Octoberfest*, *Fasching* celebrations or a "German Day." "Mental Turnen" does not exist anymore in the form of political discussions, lectures or educational classes. But some societies try to carry on a "cultural" program where they produce handicrafts or art, and the *Turnfest* which is celebrated every four years still includes a cultural component.

From the variety of athletic and social offerings and the ethnic backgrounds of the Turners, the wide range of membership numbers which vary between four and almost 2,000, we may tentatively conclude that a typical American Turner society does not exist. The societies may be categorized as ethnic, social, social-athletic or purely athletic societies. The ethnic category mainly has members of German descent. They visit their Turner society to preserve German or German-American cultural values. The purely social societies often overlap with the ethnic ones. The members of these societies only meet for social purposes such as trips, dinners, festivities or social get-togethers in their clubhouse. The social-athletic Turners offer a sports program in addition to their social life. The last category are purely athletic societies and can be compared with gymnastic clubs. They have gymnastics programs on a high competitive level for children and youth, and participate in events organized by the official American gymnastics federation—USA Gymnastics.

As the Turner societies' offerings have changed, so have their symbols. Many Turners still finish official letters with a "Gut Heil" or simply "Turner greetings." But the owl or the old motto "ffts" (fresh, free, true and strong), that can be found on the walls or furniture in some Turner halls, have lost most of their significance. In the 1930s a discus thrower, which resembles the discus thrower of Greek antiquity by Myron, became the official emblem of the American Turner societies.⁹⁸ This emblem does not refer to the German Turner movement and its symbols anymore, as former emblems did, but to the Greek roots of gymnastics. The American flag, the "Star Spangled Banner" also has come to symbolize the Turners over the years and is present at most official Turner meetings to express the Turner's loyalty to the American nation.



Conclusion

The American Turner movement can look back on an over 150-year history and it still continues certain traditions like the *Fiftieth Bundesturnfest* that was celebrated in 1999 in St. Louis. During their early decades the Turner societies had an important political, social and cultural significance for the German emigrants. These “sub-communities” offered a certain economic and cultural security and solidarity to the new immigrants, and helped them face the harsh life in the new country. Historian Kathleen Neils Conzen describes the German-American *Vereine* as “nurseries of ethnicities” in which German culture could spread and helped forming an ethnic culture and identity.⁹⁹ Thus, the Turner societies, too, strengthened the German-American culture and its de-ethnization process was slowed down.

On the other hand the Turners also went through an Americanization process. This can be seen for example in the defense of the democratic principles of their newly chosen home land—especially in the American Civil, in which the majority of Turners fought. With this step the Turners made their contribution to American history. From this point on Turners lived in a country whose rights they had fought for and whose history they were part of. However, the death of the Turner pioneers, fewer German immigrants coming during the first two decades of the twentieth century, and the Germanophobia during the World War I had a decisive impact on the decline of the Turner movement and its change of identity. The majority of German-Americans were assimilated and ethnicity became more private in its expression.¹⁰⁰ With this change the need for a German-American *Vereinsleben* faded. But through the Turner’s solidarity and commitment to their principles as well as the loyalty they show until today towards the American nation, they survived in a foreign country, despite the many internal and external problems they had—and still have—to face. Presently many societies complain they are not attracting enough younger members and are having financial problems due to the lack of members. To meet the financial

needs some Turner societies rent out their facilities or offer gambling events, like bingo.¹⁰¹

The declining numbers of Turner societies and Turners show that *Turnen* in the United States never developed into a movement for the masses like it did in Germany. Today many societies have a multiethnic membership—mostly with an European background. There is not much room left for German language or traditions, except in the Turner societies of the ethnic category. The American Turners also lost the influence on physical education they once had and have dropped their socio-political engagement although the American Turners still claim—at least on paper—to promote the participation in local and national civic projects, and it urges its members “to exercise the right of independent thought and action through the ballot and to follow the dictates of their conscience in religious matters,” as it is stated in the revised principles of 1984.¹⁰² The gap between tradition and modernization that the Turner societies have to face today to survive is not easily bridged and it will be a difficult task and a challenge for the American Turners and its societies.

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Notes

¹ There is evidence that the Louisville Turners in Kentucky were the first Turner society in the United States (see *Louisville Anzeiger*, 25 August 1849).

² The German equivalent for Turner society is *Turnverein* or *Turngemeinde*.

³ See Wilhelm Pfänder, „Bedeutung und Wesen der Turnerei,“ *Turn-Zeitung*, 10 October 1851.

⁴ The Turners of the „first generation“ included revolutionaries such as Friedrich Hecker, Gustav Struve, Carl Heinzen, Sigismund Kaufmann, Gustav Tafel and Franz Sigel. Although most of these well-known Forty-Eighters did not participate in the exercise classes, they had a strong political impact on the Turner movement.

⁵ The *Turn-Zeitung* (1 December 1851) printed an article with the title „Socialismus und die Turnerei.“ Socialism was a popular topic which the *Turn-Zeitung* took up many times. For example, beginning with the issue of 15 March 1853 an essay „Über die Nothwendigkeit des Socialismus“ appeared in this and the following four issues.

⁶ Socialist Turnerbund of North America, *Constitutions Adopted at Their Convention at Buffalo Sept. 24-27* (Buffalo, 1855).

⁷ Annette R. Hofmann, „Bahn Frei: Das deutsch-amerikanische Turnen von seinen Anfängen bis Ende des Bürgerkriegs,“ (M.A. thesis, University of Tübingen, 1993), 17-21.

⁸ See, Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund, „Jahresbericht“ (1896); Robert Knight Barney, „The German-American Turnverein Movement: It’s Histiography,“ in *Turnen und Sport*, ed. Roland Naul (Münster;New York: Waxmann, 1991), 3; and the *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States*, comp. Eric L. Pumroy and Katja Rampelmann (Westport, CT;London: Greenwood Press, 1996), 289.

⁹ Pumroy and Rampelmann, *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States*, 289.

¹⁰ A more detailed overview of the Turners’ engagement in the American Civil War can be found in Annette R. Hofmann, „The Turners’ Loyalty for their New Home Country: Their Engagement in the American Civil War,“ *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 12 (1995): 153-68.

¹¹ Michael Krüger, „Nationalismus,“ in Ommo Grupe and Dietmar Mieth, eds., *Lexikon der Ethik im Sport* (Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1998), 367.

¹² A detailed list can be found in Brigitte Haug, "... auf dem neuen Turnplatz der Politik . . .," *Turnvereine in Baden und Württemberg in der Revolution 1848/49* (Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1998).

¹³ Michael Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung: Die Geschichte des Turnens in der Reichsgründungsära—eine Detailstudie über die Deutschen* (Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1996), 14.

¹⁴ See, Haug "... auf dem neuen Turnplatz der Politik . . ."

¹⁵ Lothar Wieser, *150 Jahre Turnen und Sport in Mannheim* (Mannheim: Turn- und Sportverein Mannheim e.V. 1846, 1996), 37.

¹⁶ Michael Krüger, *Einführung in die Geschichte der Leibeserziehung und des Sport. Teil 2: Leibeserziehung im 19. Jahrhundert: Turnen fürs Vaterland* (Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1993), 36-97.

¹⁷ Robert Knight Barney, "Knights and Exercise: German Forty-Eighters and Turnvereine in the United States during the Antebellum Period," *Canadian Journal of the History of Sports* 2 (1982): 63f.

¹⁸ See "Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Convention of the American Turnerbund," St. Louis, MO, 23-26 June 1923.

¹⁹ Cincinnati Central Turners, *The First Turner Society in America* (Cincinnati, 1948).

²⁰ Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German Americans on Parade." in *The Invention of Ethnicity*, ed. Werner Sollor (New York, 1989), 49.

²¹ Friedrich Hecker, "Turnfestrede anlässlich des 16. Bezirksturnfestes in St. Louis," *Amerikanischer Turner-Kalender* (1882), 95.

²² Socialist Turnerbund, *Convention Protocols of the Socialist Turnerbund* (1858).

²³ Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des Turner-Bundes* (Indianapolis, 1874), 12.

²⁴ Socialist Turnerbund, *Convention Protocols of the Socialist Turnerbund* (1858).

²⁵ North American Turnerbund, *Official Minutes and Decisions* (Pittsburgh, PA, 1854); and Socialist Turnerbund, *The Convention of the Socialist Turnerbund of North America* (Indianapolis, IN, [4-8 September] 1858), para. 12 and 16.

²⁶ Socialist Turnerbund of North America, *The Convention of the Socialist Turnerbund of North America* (1857 and 1858).

²⁷ The statistical reports of the Turnerbund until 1950 show the different offerings of mental *Turnen*.

²⁸ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei* 1:122-25.

²⁹ Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 347-50.

³⁰ Statutes of the New York Turnverein 1855.

³¹ Socialist Turnerbund of North America, *The Convention of the Socialist Turnerbund of North America* (1858).

³² See Dolores Hoyt, "The Role of Libraries in the American Turner Organizations" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1993), 133. The national Turner union kept records on the volumes each society owned. The highest number was in 1909 with 70,000 volumes in all Turner libraries. The number of books some individual societies owned was quite large. For example, the library of the *San Francisco Turnverein* contained 8,500 volumes in 1903. At that time the library of the University of California had 28,600 books and the San Francisco Free Public Library offered 70,000 publications; see Roberta Park "German Associational and Sporting Life in the Greater San Francisco Bay Area, 1850-1900," *Sport, Leisure, and Identity in the West* 26 (1987): 47-64; (1987): 51; Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund, *Jahresbericht des Vororts* (1910).

³³ Robert Knight Barney, "German-American Turnvereins and Socio-Political-Economic Realities in the Antebellum and Civil War Upper and Lower South," *Stadion* (1984): 160.

³⁴ Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 186f.; Heinrich Metzner's *Jahrbuch II der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, vols. 1-3 (New York: 1891-94) cites several examples, esp. pp. 5-16 and 188; Heinrich Huhn, "Die principiellen Kämpfe des Turnerbundes," *Turner-Kalender* (1892): 45-63. For the recommendation of weapon drills see North American Turnerbund, *Official Minutes and Decisions* (Pittsburgh, PA, 1854).

³⁵ H. Streichmann, "Turners in Boston Were Guardians of Free Speech," *American Turner Topics* 11 (1937): 2; Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner* (Munich: Heinz Moos Verlag,

1978), 57-59.

³⁶ Wendell Phillips (1811-84) was a speaker from Boston who questioned slavery; see Allison Heisch, "Wendell Phillips," in *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, ed. Paul Lauter et al. (Lexington, MA; Toronto: D. C. Heath and Company, 1990), 1847f.

³⁷ Streichmann, *Turners in Boston Were Guardians of Free Speech*, 2.

³⁸ Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 191-95.

³⁹ Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 215f.

⁴⁰ Heinrich Metzner, *History of the American Turners*, 3d rev. ed. (Rochester, NY: National Council of the American Turners, 1974), 15.

⁴¹ Two months earlier, on 1 January, this group of Turners had become part of the 8th Battalion, the first military unit of volunteers on the Union's side. The Turner Company of this battalion protected Lincoln's train on its arrival in the capital at Washington. This bodyguard of honor accompanied the new president while taking his oath of office. After this honorable recognition the battalion protected the train connections between Annapolis, MD, and Washington, DC, during the first months of the war. It was also responsible for the supply of food to the capital. See, A. J. Prah, "The Turner," in *The Forty Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, ed. Adolf E. Zucker (New York, 1950), 105; and Carl Eugene Miller, "The Turners Mobilize for War," *Turner Topics* 4 (1989): 5.

⁴² Miller, "The Turners Mobilize for War," 9.

⁴³ Bruce Catton, *The Civil War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987), 24-26, 284.

⁴⁴ Heinrich Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei* (New York 1891-94), 62.

⁴⁵ See Hugo Gollmer, *Namensliste der Pioniere des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes der Jahre 1848-1862* (St. Louis, 1885) and Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 230f.

⁴⁶ During the absence of its soldiers the New York Turn Verein prepared its students (*Zöglinge*) beginning in 1862 in a specially created military section of its *Turnschule* for an eventual entry in the army. From 1864 on it was officially organized as the *New York Turner Cadets*. This organization existed twenty-seven years. See New York Turn Verein, *History of the New York Turn Verein for the Centennial Celebration* (New York, 1959).

⁴⁷ Because of regional controversies the American Turnerbund was divided in the years 1856-59 into a Western and an Eastern union. In 1859 they reunited. See Hofmann, "Bahn Frei: Das deutsch-amerikanische Turnen," 22-24.

⁴⁸ Sigel even became a Major General in 1862 under General Frémont and two regiments were named after Hecker. See, for example, Jörg Nagler, *Frémont contra Lincoln: Die deutsch-amerikanische Opposition in der Republikanischen Partei während des amerikanischen Bürgerkriegs* (Frankfurt, 1984), 47, 71. Hecker's engagement in the Civil War is described in Sabine Freitag, *Friedrich Hecker* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), 254ff.

⁴⁹ Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 225f.; additionally Miller mentions members of the Turner societies of neighboring states New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts (Sugerties, Union Hill, and Boston) who joined the 20th New York Regiment. See Carl Eugene Miller, "The Influence of Immigrant Geographic Origin on the Conduct of the Turner's Regiment in the American Civil War" (paper presented in 1989).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Poster of Sturcke and Mohr located at the New York Turners, Inc., Long Island, NY.

⁵² That is *Turnvater* Jahn's interpretation of the meaning of these colors; see Prah, *The Turner*, 85.

⁵³ New York Turn Verein, *100th and 125th Anniversary*.

⁵⁴ Cincinnati Central Turners, *The First Turner Society in America*, 26.

⁵⁵ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:71.

⁵⁶ Cincinnati Central Turners, 26.

⁵⁷ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:70.

⁵⁸ Frederic Trautmann, *We Were the Ninth* (Kent, OH; London: Kent State University Press, 1987), 3.

⁵⁹ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:71.

⁶⁰ Hannes Neumann, *Die deutsche Turnbewegung in der Revolution 1848/49 und in der amerikanischen Emigration* (Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1968), 106f.

- ⁶¹ Albert Faust, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Leipzig, 1912), 439.
- ⁶² Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:64-67; Hofmann, "Bahn Frei: Das deutsch-amerikanische Turnen," 59-60.
- ⁶³ Robert Knight Barney, "German-American Turnvereine and Socio-Political-Economic Realities in the Antebellum and Civil War Upper and Lower South," *Stadion* (1984): 150.
- ⁶⁴ If at least one company consisting of Turners existed in a regiment, it was called "Turner Regiment" (Miller, "The Turners Mobilize for War," 10).
- ⁶⁵ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:143-44.
- ⁶⁶ Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:141-43.
- ⁶⁷ Fred Eugene Leonard, "German-American Gymnastic Societies and the North American Turnerbund," in *American Physical Education Review* 15 (December 1910): 622.
- ⁶⁸ Indianapolis Turnverein, *75th Anniversary* (Indianapolis, 1926), 11.
- ⁶⁹ Karel Booy, *The History of the Kansas City Turners* (Kansas City, 1973), 1.
- ⁷⁰ Walter Möll, "Mit Sense und Dreschflegel durch die USA: Die Reise der Heckergruppe vom 13-19. März 1992," in *Friedrich Hecker in den USA: Eine deutsch-amerikanische Spurensicherung*, ed. Alfred G. Frei (Konstanz: Stadler Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992), 167f.
- ⁷¹ Kevin B. Wamsley, "A Home in the South: The Turners of Galveston, Texas, 1840-65," in *Ethnicity and Sport in North American History and Culture*, ed. George Eisen and David K. Wiggins (Westport, CT; London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 43-54.
- ⁷² Barney, *German-American Turnvereine and Socio-Political-Economic Realities*, 169.
- ⁷³ Barney, *Knights and Exercise*, 68-69.
- ⁷⁴ Robert K. Barney, "German Turners in American Domestic Crisis," *Stadion* 4 (1978): 344.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 355; Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:84.
- ⁷⁶ Barney, *German-American Turnvereine and Socio-Political-Economic Realities*, 172; Wamsley, *A Home in the South*, 48f.
- ⁷⁷ Hoffman, "Bahn Frei: Das deutsch-amerikanische Turnen," 68f.
- ⁷⁸ L. Stierlin, *Der Staat Kentucky mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Elements* (Louisville, 1873), 29.
- ⁷⁹ Syracuse Turners, *125th Anniversary* (Syracuse, NY, 1979).
- ⁸⁰ Booy, *The History of the Kansas City Turners*, 1; Covington Turner Society, *The First Hundred Years* (Covington, 1955), 14; Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:190.
- ⁸¹ Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner*, 83.
- ⁸² Alice Joyce Moonen, "The Missing Half: The Experience of Women of the Indiana Athenaeum Turnverein Ladies Auxiliary 1876-1919" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1993), 87.
- ⁸³ Hofmann, "Bahn Frei: Das deutsch-amerikanische Turnen," 70ff.
- ⁸⁴ This was the second institution in the United States where one could become a physical education teacher. The first one was Dio Lewis Normal Institute for Physical Education, founded in 1861 in Boston. See Edward Mussey Hartwell, *Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities* (Circular of Information of the Bureau of Education, no. 5-1885, 1886).
- ⁸⁵ See Pumroy and Rampelmann, *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States*, introduction.
- ⁸⁶ Allen Guttmann, *Women's Sports: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 95.
- ⁸⁷ See summary of the Turner societies' histories in Pumroy and Rampelmann, *Research Guide to the Turner Movement*; and Akron Turner Club, *Centennial Anniversary 1885-1985* (Akron, 1985).
- ⁸⁸ See annual reports of the Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund for the 1890s.
- ⁸⁹ Annual Reports of the Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund 1915 and 1917.
- ⁹⁰ See "Statistical Reports" of the Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund 1914-43.
- ⁹¹ "Annual Reports" of the Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund (1925), 11; and (1935), 3; as well as "Annual Report" of the American Turners (1938), 6; and Pumroy and Rampelmann, *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States*.
- ⁹² "Annual Report" of the American Turners (1944), 8.
- ⁹³ Willi Paul Adams, *The German-Americans: An Ethnic Experience*, American edition, trans. and adapted by La Vern Rippley and Eberhard Reichmann (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1993), 6.

⁹⁴ Protocol of the 44th Turner Convention of the American Turners in 1952, 3f.

⁹⁵ American Turners, *Directory of National Council, District Councils, Society Leaders* (Louisville, 1999).

⁹⁶ Of the Turners included in the second questionnaire, 62 percent were older than 50 years, 28 percent between 31 and 50 years, and 10 percent younger than 30 years.

⁹⁷ Other members claimed the following ancestries: 21,5 percent Irish; 15,6 percent English; 5,6 percent Swedish; 5 percent each Italian and Scottish; other nationalities were negligible.

⁹⁸ Illinois Senator William F. Mahor even described the Turners as discus throwers in a Senate Resolution which proclaimed 1 May 1993 as National American Turner Day in commemoration of their 145th anniversary (State of Illinois, 88th General Assembly, Senate Resolution No. 3000 offered by Senator William F. Mahor). See *American Turner Topics* 40 (1993): 9.

⁹⁹ See Conzen, *Ethnicity as Festive Culture*, 50, 58; and Frederick Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (De Kalb, IL, 1974), 43.

¹⁰⁰ Kathleen Neils Conzen, 'Patterns of German-American History,' in *Germans in America: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Randall M. Miller (Philadelphia: The German Society of Pennsylvania, 1984), 32.

¹⁰¹ For example the Aurora Turners in Illinois or the Springfield Turners in Massachusetts offer bingo regularly. In the "old days" the Turners disapproved of gambling. Statute 22 of the Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund in 1880 pronounced that "Veranstaltungen von Lotterien in irgendeiner Form, zu welchen Zwecken auch immer, sind verboten." See *Turner-Kalender* (1880): 96.

¹⁰² See Heinrich Metzner, *History of the American Turners*, 4th rev. ed. (Louisville, KY: National Council of the American Turners, 1989), 51.

